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First to Last—the Truth: News—Editorials —Advertisements

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Washington Should Worry

A lot of things make it difficult to figure out just where the country is at in the present unemployment crisis. Four years of war prosperity make us forget that unemployment was a more or less normal state of the world in peace times. Four years of practically no immigration and the present absolute uncertainty as to what European labor will do under the vastly changed conditions across the Atlantic upset any sort of calculations on the future. But a few things are certain.

We have a million and a half men out of work. In peace times, Secretary Wilson assures us, there were always a million men out of work. In times of stagnation three or four millions were unemployed.

Before the war immigration added immensely to the labor pool. A million two hundred thousand aliens came in yearly, while only 400,000 departed, leaving a net gain of 800,000 potential workers each year. Figured at this rate, the four years of halted immigration leave the country 3,200,000 short of its normal growth in population. Add to this the 4,000,000 drafted men and the half million who have gone into shipbuilding. Even if 3,000,000 of these are demobilized this year the remainder, with the loss from the stoppage of immigration, will leave the country with a labor shortage of 4,700,000 compared to what normal conditions would have been.

But life is not all statistics, and a country that shows a theoretical shortage of labor can actually produce a glut. More, that glut can have as dangerous social effects. It looms huge. It carries tremendous emotional possibilities. Similarly the problems of the cost of labor and material and their readjustment have crippled American industry, not because they are insurmountable but because the end of the gigantic war leaves business psychologically "up in the air." It is no easy thing to risk commercial suicide by plunging into peace production on war terms. The normal business man is wondering if his competitor won't wait for "liquidation" of labor and material costs, and then undersell him in the same market.

All of which points to the vital part that government might have played, and should have played, in building up commercial confidence, in instilling initiative into industry and energizing the whole commercial brain of the country. President Wilson went off to Europe leaving reconstruction up to Congress. On January 30, 1919, almost three months after the armistice, the Senate at last took the first step toward heartening business and releasing tied-up capital by the validating of the settlement of informal war contracts aggregating a billion dollars. Three months after the end of the war Congress may be passing the Kenyon bill for the use of $100,000,000 on public improvements. Three months after the end of the war Secretary Wilson sets March 4 as the last date—and it looks like the first date, too—for legislation against unemployment. More serious still, we are now learning that the railroad administration has definitely cut construction work to the bone—just when it could play the needed part in restoring industrial morale and starting business on a sharp up-grade. A trunk line out of New York which had $30,000,000 of necessary and deferred construction work scheduled will have to be content with $1,600,000 worth.

Washington knew that the most tremendous war in history was over. Washington knew that the future of industry was indeterminable. Washington knew that, left to itself, industry might pick up and it might not. Washington knew that merely normal conditions of unemployment were serious enough and that the huge complication of the war would call for every effort of sanity and reason to guard against disaster. Washington knew that it would have a certain leeway of time in which to work. And Washington sat back and waited for that time to pass. Now it may succeed in doing something—now that the expected has happened. But what it can do for the spring, when outdoor construction will pick up of itself and stimulate all industry, will have no bearing on the troubles of February and March. America will get through, but Washington should worry.

War Courses in Colleges

President Lowell of Harvard University recommends the teaching of the art of war in colleges on the same basis as that on which other applied sciences or arts are taught. Practical instruction in summer camps would supplement the academic training.

It is a sensible idea. We have too few war colleges. And modern war is so complicated a thing that it cannot be mastered hurriedly when an emergency comes. The United States needs a reserve of men well grounded in military principles. Such a reserve is not furnished by our present military institutions or by our present educational system. A military training is valuable in itself. The average college graduate would be more efficient if he had the benefits of one. It would also increase his all-round usefulness as a citizen.

False Hopes

The opponents of the prohibition amendment who are talking about contesting its validity because of referendum clauses in state constitutions deceive themselves. The process of ratification cannot be affected by anything in state constitutions or laws requiring the submission of state amendments or other legislative propositions to a vote of the people.

The Federal Constitution provides two methods of amendment. One is the submission of articles to the state legislatures by a two-thirds vote in each branch of Congress. The other is the summoning by Congress of a national convention, on the request of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states. In either case the changes proposed must be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states or by conventions in three-fourths of the states, according to the mode of submission.

An amendment submitted by Congress to the legislatures goes into effect if ratified by them. Their action is sufficient and final. No state can prevent their exercise of a power which the Constitution grants them by requiring a referendum to be taken on an amendment.

Congress has decided many times that no state may prescribe qualifications for Senators or Representatives other than those contained in the Constitution. It has treated such additional qualifications as null and void. They do not bind either legislatures or voters. Similarly, any local limitations on the power of ratification are superfluous and invalid.

Nor is there any way to reconsider a ratification once legally made. The amendment passes out of the jurisdiction of the state when notice of its approval has been filed with the Secretary of State at Washington. When the Fourteenth Amendment was under consideration legislatures in New Jersey and Ohio attempted to rescind ratifying resolutions adopted by previous legislatures. Secretary Seward issued a proclamation announcing the facts. Congress thereupon instructed him to issue another proclamation, announcing unconditional ratification, the votes of Ohio and New Jersey being counted to make the necessary three-fourths.

If any state legislature which has ratified the Eighteenth Amendment can be induced to submit a referendum reopening the question its action will violate established precedents and all existing interpretations of the meaning of Article VIII of the Federal Constitution.

Railway Wages and the Pay of Capital

The latest estimates as to the increase in railway wages indicate that these may add something like $800,000,000 to operating expenses for the coming year, and possibly somewhat more. It is computed that the average has risen from about $1,000 per employe in 1917 to something between $1,400 and $1,500. That is between 40 per cent and 50 per cent. Taking it from 1914, the increase is considerably more.

There are somewhat over 1,750,000 railway employes, and as their compensation forms nearly half of the total of operating expenses, it will be seen that this increase added at least a quarter to the cost of running the roads.

The number of railway owners is not nearly as large as the number of employes, but it is, all things considered, astonishingly high. No figures exist as to the number of bondholders, but the latest computation reckons the number of stockholders at "not less than 640,000." As there are considerably more bonds than stocks, it is not improbable that the total number of railway owners runs over a million. Their compensation, fixed by law, remains the same as it was in the three years before the government took hold. It is a little difficult to gauge exactly the per centum rate of return, but the usual estimates are a little less than 5 per cent on the bonds and a little more than 5 per cent on the stocks. Only a part—a little more than half—of the sum guaranteed to shareholders by the government can be paid out as dividends. The situation, then, is that as a result of the government's seizure of the roads the employes receive nearly 50 per cent more, while the owners have no increase at all. Relatively, then, the pay of railway capital has been decreased one-third. This is represented in the stock market by the great decline in the value of railway shares, which is now on the average very near the bed-rock figure of the last ten years.

To a great many people there appears little need of protecting the earnings of capital. But, as a matter of fact, those earnings are just as vital to our social and industrial welfare as the earnings of labor, because the only way that there can be any real and permanent increase in the earnings of labor is either through its added efficiency or the application of invention and capital to an increased product per man. The latter is the usual way.

The owners of the railways have invested in these properties nearly $1,200 for each man employed. If it were not for this investment the railways would not exist. In some form or other this investment meant just that much saving, and it appears to be a statistical fact that when the earnings of capital fall too low saving ceases. Capital can survive without saving. It can live on itself. But if saving should cease it would be calamitous for labor.

On Sewing Circles

Admiral Henry T. Mayo, appearing on Thursday before the House Naval Affairs Committee in support of the Administration's naval programme, referring to the league of nations, said: "This idea is rapidly getting down to a sewing circle, with no means of enforcement and with no international police force."

In his eloquent address to the peace conference last Saturday the President said:

> "Therefore, it seems to me that we must concern our best judgment in order to make this league of nations a vital thing—a thing sometimes called into life to meet an emergency, but always functioning in watchful attendance upon the interests of the nations, and that its continuity should be a vital continuity; that its functions are continuing functions that do not permit an intermission of its watchfulness and of its labor; that it should be the eye of the nations, to keep watch upon the common interest—an eye that did not slumber, an eye that was everywhere watchful and attentive.
>
> "And if we do not make it vital what shall we do? We shall disappoint the expectations of the peoples. That is what their thought centers upon. . . . I hope, Mr. Chairman, when it is known, as I feel confident it will be known, that we have adopted the principle of the league of nations and mean to work out that principle in effective action we shall by that single thing have lifted a great part of the load of anxiety from the hearts of men everywhere."

President Wilson also said that he "must be a crusader for these things, whatever it costs and whatever it may be necessary to do in honor to accomplish the object for which they (the American soldiers) fought."

Yet an American admiral, speaking for the Navy Department, dismisses the league of nations project as something that has tapered down to "a sewing circle." It is a natural inference (and that inference is strengthened by Secretary Daniels's address at Annapolis yesterday) that the Navy Department anticipates no outcome from the work of the conference committee charged with setting up a league of nations which will relieve the United States of the necessity of maintaining a navy surpassed by that of no other maritime power. "Incomparably the greatest navy in the world" was the mark set for the United States by Mr. Wilson in a speech at St. Louis, marking his conversion to preparedness.

Mr. Daniels still holds fast to that ideal. So does Admiral Mayo. Yet a league of nations which is to have vital functions, which is to acquire territorial possessions and administer backward states, plainly clashes with that ideal.

Which view of the future of the league of nations is sound—that of the President abroad or that of his Administration at home?

And what must be the effect on European opinion of Admiral Mayo's cynical interpretation of the implications of President Wilson's eloquent league of nations speech?

Magnetic Surgery

Two interesting statements were made by Lieutenant Colonel Allin Greenwood, M. D., Boston eye specialist, upon his return a few days ago from France, where he was senior consulting eye surgeon with the American Expeditionary Forces. The first of these statements was that the public has been given a wrong impression as to the number of American soldiers made blind by the war. Dr. Greenwood says not more than 110 men in the entire American army have lost their sight as a result of the war. Considering the number of men engaged, the figures are small. The last census showed more than 57,000 blind persons in the United States as a result of industrial accidents and natural causes.

Dr. Greenwood's second statement of interest was that the sight of many American soldiers was saved by the use of magnets. The use of the magnet in surgery is an American development, although the first experiment along that line is credited to Dr. McKeown, of Belfast. A New York surgeon, Dr. E. Gruening, perfected the first effective apparatus in 1880. Four years later the apparatus was used to extract a piece of steel half an inch long and one-eighth of an inch wide from the eye of a workman without serious injury to the eye, and a new era in surgery had begun. Industrial plants were quick to take advantage of this method of removing bits of iron and steel driven into the eyes and flesh of workmen by explosions. And it was the experience gained in this manner that enabled American surgeons to save the eyes of many soldiers, extracting bits of shell and shrapnel by means of powerful magnets.

The Millennium Postponed

(From The Elkader Register)

In an article written by C. E. Kerney, jr., and printed in "The Register" last week, the date when it is hoped that Christ's Kingdom would be established over the earth was given as 1923. This was an error on the part of the printer; it should have been 1932.

The Conning Tower

The High Cost of Contribbing.

One Tribune goes to June
Every time I land.
One to Flo, one to Zoe,
One to Peggy, and

One to Bess, one to Tess,
One to Clementine.
One to Fay, one to May,
One to Caroline.

Then there's Ann, Lou, and Fan,
Rosemarie and Jennie.
Gosh, I'm sore! 'Fore the war
Tribs were just a penny.

Now, Old Top, when I cop,
Where's the recompense?
My first squib in the Trib
Cost me thirty cents.

Jove, I'm broke! Watch in soak,
Porte-monnaie is kinked.
Better far if my car-
Toons and stuff are zinced.

IGNATZ.

The Conning Tower, from time to time, or less frequently, will confer decorations upon persons entitled to them. To-day a cross is awarded to Wilbur J. Whoozis for exceptional gallantry. "In the face of sturdy opposition, Mr. Whoozis succeeded in taking his hat and coat into a hotel restaurant without checking them, severely wounding two check boys and one head waiter."

The Conning Tower would like to cite some poet for conspicuous bravery, thus: "In the face of harassing fire, he avoided the temptation to write in free verse, and at tremendous financial cost expressed his thoughts in rhyme."

THE DIARY OF OUR OWN SAMUEL PEPYS

January 29—To dinner with Mistress Mary Caroline Glass, and thence with her to hear "Oberon," the musick being good and the investitures of great beauty, and it was sung in English, but for aught I could make of the words, it might as well have been sung in French, either because the singers do enunciate poorly or because the translation is difficult to sing; or haply for both reasons.

30—Early up; and to the office, and R. Benchley is come for luncheon, and we had a merry hour. This afternoon I walked through the town, and I was struck by the great beauty of the women, and it is clear to me now why the English and the French who visit us are also taken with our women, forasmuch as I saw more beauty in a mile of the Avenue than in a score of French towns. To Mistress Alice's for dinner, and find P. Littell the great critick and his wife there, and Mistress Betty Hare, all very gay and pleasant.

31—Up by times; and to my tailor's to have my trousers adjusted. For my wife had sublet them to H. O'Higgins, who had had them narrowed and lengthened till they were not fit to be worn. To breakfast at the new Hotel Commodore, where I had a baked apple, with some of the core in it, and 2 eggs, and some fine coffee, costing me $1, which is more than I can afford; albeit it is so pleasant to have some money again that I did buy a pair of shoes, which I did not greatly need, forasmuch as I ought first to pay my debts. To R. Lingley's for dinner, and to a fruiterer's to buy some grapes to take to my wife, and then to the train for Washington.

Signor Marconi estimates that it will take four years for a message to reach that comet, and four years for the return—eight years, if the addressee replies at once. "That's nothing," first indersements Tom D'Urfee. "Just you wait until Burleson takes over the ether."

It is safe to predict that many a boyish spine will tingle at the mental picture of the French at Verdun grimly declaring "They shall not pass" and will better visualize the bulldog tenacity of English courage which dares to admit, as did Haig, that "Our backs are to the wall."—The Tribune.

Not that the boyish spine can't visualize, at that.

If the Anti-Tobacco crowd, inspired by the success of the Anti-Booze crusaders, is successful, it will work an acute hardship on many of us, especially on garage inmates whose literacy doesn't go so far as "NO SMOKING."

SERVICE STARS

It seems to me the time is almost ripe,
For some one to create a new sensation
By printing out in clear and honest type
* * * * * * * *
What once was left to our imagination.

SIG SPAETH.

Obviously it would be a big day for this department if the Grand Duke Cyril, whom it is believed may be, will become Czar of Russia.

They've changed the name of the Cape May section base of the naval submarine patrol service, but the change—to Cape May Navy Yard—is disappointing.

Why not Cape May I Not?

F. P. A.

"THAT'S ALL!"

America Arrives— And Wilson Is Its Symbol

Mark Sullivan, in Collier's Weekly

WITH the masses of the people in Europe President Wilson has great popularity. With the statesmen and politicians he has great power. The two are different and arise from different causes, but they both contribute to the same effect. That effect is the elevation of President Wilson's present position in Europe, and his elevation is the outstanding fact at the peace conference. The underlying cause of this elevation, the aspects of it that are factitious, the things that Wilson may do through it and with it and the consequences that may flow from it are important enough to justify an attempt at interpretation to the Americans at home.

The causes of Wilson's popularity with the masses are readily analyzed. First of all, the masses in Europe are simple and unread to a degree that has no analogy among our people at home. These European masses, in their simplicity, make no distinction between Wilson and America. To them Wilson is not only Wilson. He is also all of America. He is not only a man, but also a symbol. He is not only Wilson—he is also the American eagle and the American flag when they applaud him along the line of parade. They are expressing not only such emotions as they have about him personally—they are also expressing all they have ever felt about America as a land of freedom and promise. Wilson is to them the personal symbol of the land of the free and the home of the brave. All the stories they have heard about America for generations—all the legends which illiterate peoples hand down by word of mouth around their evening firesides, all the memorials of Kosciusko in the Revolution and of Garibaldi in exile more than half a century ago, all the recollections of the messages that have come back to these European peasants from emigrant brothers and cousins, all the tales that have trickled into their pinched lives about the comfort and affluence of America, all their longing for escape from political oppression and for economic opportunity—all of that is embodied in that friendly gray-haired American man who at this very instant is bowing and smiling and lifting his hat to them.

Wilson Reaps Army's Glory

Not only that. President Wilson is also the American army. Each one of those 56,000 American soldiers who lie in French graves left a residuum of glory which falls as a legacy to Wilson personally. Those soldiers died darkly and without applause. What the liberated peoples feel for them and would like to have said to them is now said through their only chance for saying it in "vives" and "bravos" to Woodrow Wilson as he rides along the Champs Elysée or through Brussels or along the streets of Rome.

In addition to this part of Wilson's elevation which comes to him as the symbol of America, he has an elevation of his own which arises out of the picture which the masses of Europe have received of him personally.

The Creel Propaganda

Some of this picture comes naturally as the result of his position in the war, the speeches and deeds of his which had a part in it, but for the more definite and concrete part of it Wilson is indebted to the zealous works of the indispensable Creel. To us at home Creel was the Committee on Public Information, which had charge of the relations of the government with the home newspapers, but over here Creel was the Committee of American Propaganda in Europe. At home we thought of his functions as purely American, but the fact is that much of the millions which he had was spent on propaganda in Europe. To Creel American propaganda in Europe was a simple formula: "Tell Europe about Wilson." Creel is, in all seriousness, a most ingenious, fertile and resourceful person, and all his fertility and resource were devoted to ringing the changes on this one theme. Wilson the deliverer, Wilson the liberator, got into the minds of every European soldier and peasant.

The idea of Wilson in association with the words "liberty" and "justice," in association with all the phrases which ever have had the power of evoking emotions of liberty in the heart of the oppressed, makes every European peasant think of Wilson as the embodiment of all that was good and great in Kosciusko, Garibaldi and Marco Bozzaris.

This was not merely an expression of Creel's sincere and ardent admiration for Wilson. It was the most direct and vivid way of reaching a desired and necessary end—a shrewd and simple method of legitimate propaganda. At a time when Italy was weakening, and it was feared she might quit, Creel sent a corps of his propagandists throughout the Italian countryside. He flooded the villages with picture postcards of Wilson and extracts from Wilson's speeches. In every street he set up moving pictures of Wilson and the American army. He organized a campaign among the Italians in America which resulted in hundreds of thousands of letters and cables to their relatives and friends in Italy. In fifteen thousand villages he had an army of native orators and American orators accompanied by Italian orator-interpreters with instructions to go to the limit on Wilson.

Wilson or Bolshevism

Liberty and justice and the limit of an Italian orator are some limit. All this helped to stiffen up the Italian morale, it helped to win the war—and it set up in the Italian peasant's heart a figure of Wilson which stood side by side with the picture of the Pope or Garibaldi. I am told by subordinates who helped Creel on this work that in little Italian villages the big posters of Wilson are set up alongside the shrine of the Madonna, with candles burning to both.

The final reason for Wilson's popularity with the masses of Europe is that they look upon him as a contrast with their own politicians; they are sick and tired of most of their old leaders, and well they may be. This is not the place to go into it fully, but European politics are much more sordid than American politics ever was at its worst.

The European peoples are in much the same mood as our own people were ten or fifteen years ago, when they became restless under what we termed "the old gang." They look upon their politicians and leaders as we looked upon the bosses, and they see Wilson as the reformer. Wilson, with that intuitive understanding of the moods of the people which is his most useful asset as a politician, sees that situation. He sees it in the same terms in which he saw his own political opportunity at home ten years ago. He has begun to use here the very vocabulary of that period in America.

In the interview in which he introduced himself to England he spoke of the old Congress of Vienna as a peace conference of bosses, while he said the present must be a peace conference of true representatives of the aspirations of the people. Wilson is to the masses of the European countries something of what Wilson, Roosevelt and Bryan combined have been to the Americans for some five to twenty-five years.

So much for Wilson's popularity with the masses. His strength with the politicians and leaders is quite different from it, and yet a part of it. The deference which the leaders pay to President Wilson, based on the power they concede to him, is not unconnected with fear. They are uneasily conscious that his popularity with the masses gives him potentially the same relation to them that he had to Senator Smith, of New Jersey, and the old bosses of the Democratic party in America.

As he unhorsed those old American politicians, so can he unhorse those present European ones, for the European peoples are restless under their old politicians and rulers, as the American people were restless ten years ago.

Thrones at His Mercy

Woodrow Wilson said he would have no dealings with the Hohenzollerns, and the Hohenzollerns are no more. That example is most unpleasantly and unceasingly present in the mind of every member of a dynasty and every politician in Europe. No European politician is going to let any unlikely contingency arise in which Wilson should set himself publicly and aggressively in open antagonism against him.

I have it not merely as a matter of my own observation, but upon the judgment of the most responsible men in Europe, that Wilson could probably upset any government in Europe to-day. There is hardly a throne left in Europe but would crumble to dust in a day at a single kick from Wilson's boot. Not only this: both the political leaders and the commercial leaders, the whole of the propertied classes, face the choice, or think they face the choice, of either the moderate Wilson or the Bolshevist Lenine. A wave of Bolshevism has swept all of Eastern Europe. There are vague stirrings of it in several of the countries of Western Europe. To accept the moderate reforms proposed by Wilson is the best defence against it.

Finally, with the political leaders, the financiers and the commercial classes Wilson has power for the same reason that gives him part of his power with the masses. He has power for the thing he symbolizes—America. Just as Wilson is to the masses the symbol of the American eagle and the American flag, to the leaders he is the symbol of the American dollar and the American hog. Wilson is in authority in America—and America has 85 per cent of the food, especially the sorely needed fats of the American hog, that will save Europe from starvation this winter and the coming spring.

America, through Wilson, is the source of the money which alone can save much of Europe from bankruptcy. America is the source of the raw materials which alone can resurrect the stricken and largely lifeless industrial structure of Europe.

Now, let us see what are the things that President Wilson can do with his power.

What He Can Do

What are the things that he can give to the masses of Europe that their own leaders and governments cannot or will not give them?

First of all, Wilson promises them peace, and they are utterly tired of war.

Second, Wilson's programme for the peace conference promises them not only present peace, but permanent peace, release from the burden of conscription, of enforced service in huge standing armies, release from the intolerable burden of taxation required to build and maintain great armaments.

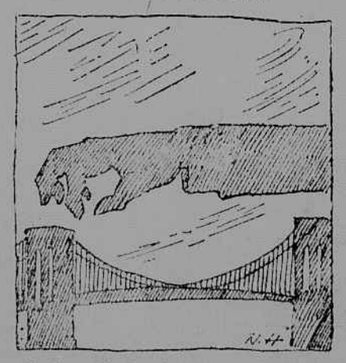
Third, Wilson promises them open diplomacy—diplomacy in which the peoples themselves participate and of which they have knowledge. No more secret agreement by which their old leaders have bound them to go to war for causes they do not understand. Present events emphasize this point every day. The publication by the new government in Germany of the documents which will show exactly how this present war was brought about increases the popular disgust with secret diplomacy and invisible government and adds to the longing for Wilson's promise of open diplomacy.

Finally, Wilson's peace programme promises many of these European peoples the fulfilment of their most ancient dreams, the self-determination of small and subject peoples. The promise of fulfilment to racial aspirations gives life to dying memories. In the Carpathian Mountains and along the Dalmatian coast flags so long suppressed that their very form and color are almost forgotten are to fly once more. Old folksongs that have been handed down from father to son in secrecy and in peril are to blaze out as national anthems. It is little wonder that Wilson and Wilson's peace programme appeal to these peoples with much of the fervor of the old crusades.

That is the situation in Europe on the eve of a peace conference in which Wilson and America will be indisputably the dominant elements.

"PEACE!"

(From The Brooklyn Eagle)



Maybe we had to have a war in order to celebrate peace, but can't we celebrate it without further hostilities?

Or stage a victory celebration without outside "intervention"?

In greeting our soldiers we don't need any "hands across the Bridge."

Some people's business seems to be that of minding other people's.

What's the Secret?

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: What did Brooklyn do to make the police behave at the Brooklyn Victory Celebration Committee mass meeting at the Academy of Music on Wednesday night? Whatever the argument, they'd better impart the secret to the New York Citizens' Welcome Committee. It might prove useful in case of another mass meeting in Madison Square Garden. L. S.

Brooklyn, Jan. 31, 1919.

Eggs

(From The Detroit Free Press)

Eggs are selling at 6 cents a dozen in China. But a china egg probably isn't worth any more.